586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[781] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

181 works unless he belongs to the lower class, but he takes a sports-
[461] man-like interest in his cattle. Work is the concern of the sub-
jugated Bahutu and hence disgraceful to a Mutussi, and only
the really poor Batussi will stoop to it. To be rich and powerful
and to enjoy life in idleness is for him the essence of wisdom,
the ideal which he endeavors to achieve with the utmost
cunning and lack of scruple. It is everyone for himself, a maxim
which is also adhered to by the Batussi as a whole in their rela-
tions to the ruled people, the Bahutu and Batwa.

Naturally this life of pleasure, indulged in for hundreds
of years, has done great harm to the character and manly virtues
of the Batussi. That they were not without courage, warlike
ability, and energy can be easily inferred from the fact that,
although they are small in numbers now and doubtless even
smaller at one time, they have conquered this large country.
Witness also the early history of their royalty (see p. 162 [not
translated]). For a long time now, however, they have had
their internal and external battles fought for them by their
bondsmen, their Bahutu vassals, while they keep themselves
cautiously in the background and cunningly direct operations
from a safe place. Of course, there are praiseworthy exceptions
even here.

In spite of all this, it must be admitted that even in this
respect the Barundi are on a higher level than the Banjaruanda.
In Urundi the Batussi are not so pleasure-seeking, lazy, mendacious,
violent, and cowardly as those in Ruanda, nor are the Bahutu so
servile and hypocritical toward superiors and so insolent toward
the weak as they are there, nor does the king along with the
lords living at his court indulge to such a degree in idleness,
revelry, intrigues, and the satisfaction of vicious and cruel in-
stincts as does the one in Ruanda.

563 In Urundi, as well as in Ruanda, it is above all the will
[556] to power and the desire for pleasure which have caused the ruling
Batussi to keep the greatest form of wealth, cattle, to them-
selves. By this means alone they have created for themselves
an economic power over [16] the mass of the Bahutu which also
provides the surest foundation for their political predominance
[754] (see pp. 41-42). In addition they have cleverly succeeded in

533 This does not apply to religious songs which are sung at certain cult ceremonies. We shall discuss them in the chapter on "Religion" (p. 127).

533 461 Often, but not always, singing of the simplest form accompanies work done by several persons with the object of concentrating the individual's energies by means of the rhythm or to make for greater perseverance. For instance, this may be done while moving heavy objects, when hoeing the field in a group, rowing a boat, cutting trees, etc. Usually the song consists of only two or three words which are first sung by one person in the group and are then imitated by the others until the choir leader gives them a new word, a new "idea."

[71] Chapter 6

Means of Communication, Trade, Handicrafts

1. Means of Communication

487 In a country with as little internal and external trade as Urundi the means of communication are naturally very primitive. The roads connecting villages or districts with each other are simple, narrow, trampled footpaths which circumvent all obstacles by turning to the right or left. Wherever this is impossible, as, for instance, in the extremely rocky quartzite regions of central and east Urundi, obstacles are never moved out of the way but are simply left there, and the traveler has to climb over them. These paths in the quartzite regions are, therefore, extremely difficult to traverse for the non-native burden carrier in a caravan or even for a European. The difficulties are further increased by the fact that all the paths of Urundi and Ruanda tend to reach the hill ridges and highland plains which predominate in this area by the shortest possible route, in order to proceed along there with greater ease. Since many valleys are deeply cut and have steep sides, the paths which go

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
435 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': 435 it is practised among members of the aristocracy only; it consists in offering members of the ruling 565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the
● 461 domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(2)]

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

441 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[P. 16 (A)]

[1] [a type of vassal — Analyst]

[2] [messenger attendant — Analyst]

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that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *buhake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered as

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures.

258 water, which overflows into a jar, carrying with it a few more or less
263 soluble particles of this sooty dust. The liquid is preserved. The cooks pour a little into the cooking pot at every meal. Some families subsist on this humble vocation and trade with water which is not salted but which has an ashy taste.

Salt was indeed rare before the arrival of the Europeans. The great Batutsi chiefs were about the only ones able to obtain it.

This salt, collected by the Blacks in the marshes of Lake Edward, contained an amount of earth and sand at least equal to half its volume. It sold nevertheless for a very high price at native markets.

The salt from the Gottorp plant (not far from Kigoma) is now used by all social strata. It is highly valued by the Banyarwanda, who call it ulugera, a substantive derived from the verb kugera, which means "to penetrate," because, as they say, it goes all the way down to their stomachs thanks to its high quality and its tart and pungent flavor. One understands why formerly the Blacks, when deprived of salt, would seek out bitter herbs and sour fruits. Red pepper and
[244] chives, which were imported fairly recently, have for this reason been a great success among the Blacks, who cultivate them in small plots near their huts. It is probably for the same reason that children show almost as much fondness for lemons as for oranges. /34/ A few years after the eruption referred to as that of the Ntsuro (December, 1911 and January, 1912), when the natives were able to approach the volcano safely, they began collecting salt mixed with large quantities of earth. The inhabitants of nearby villages spend most of their time collecting the indispensable substance. In order to rid the salt of its
[415] impurities, people melt it in large wooden troughs full of water, which are called imivule or imizinga. The liquid is then removed to other troughs where it is exposed to the sun. The most skillful and enterprising workers allow the water to boil until it evaporates completely. The markets which are held north of Kivu are supplied with this salt, which sells as high as that of Gottorp in spite of its poor quality. It is less white, contains impurities, and always remains damp.

241 The Batwa, or Negrillos, do not farm much. They look down
461 on field work.
563

241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in

461

1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as [195] though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

157 Eloquence. It was no doubt necessary to cultivate loquacity in lands totally ignorant of the art of writing. Whatever the reason, there is no doubt that the Blacks find it easier to speak endlessly than to remain silent.... It does not occur to the Blacks to limit their speeches to pertinent data. /63/

Loyalty. Among the various peoples of East-Central Africa with whom I have been in contact, I have always found a remarkable degree of loyalty in return for the confidence placed in them.

Instincts. In my opinion, they have those of the most primitive peoples. Among those instincts, some may be classed among the characteristics beneficial to the Blacks.

1. First, the religious instinct. I do not believe that a "skeptic" ever existed among the true Black primitives. He is a by-product of civilization.

2. Perspicacity. The Blacks seem gifted with a mysterious power to judge strangers.... This gift of insight, which enables them to perceive the characteristics of a foreigner, is enviable. I do not mean to say that every black man possesses it individually to a remarkable degree, but collectively they seem able to judge a foreigner in practically no time. This is applied to the Whites, who no sooner arrived are granted a surname by the natives. If this name is not flattering, it will be used without his knowledge.

II And now, a few words on the shortcomings of the Negroes of Central Africa.

Duplicity. Lying is a "cultivated" art among our Africans.... It is quite likely that this is a familial practice, or else how could one explain their great skill in this art? It must be in part the result of circumstances, for primitive people regard it as a natural means of protection.... As a result, the Blacks have little if any sense of honor and place ruse on a much higher level than truth.

157 461 Laziness. There have been few occasions for the Blacks to develop habits of industriousness and sustained effort. /64/ As a rule, nature was very kind to them, supplying them with essentials even where the population was densest. Their needs were few apart from their own subsistence and that of their livestock. The rains were seasonal, and sowing time depended upon them. In the villages those

157 were the times of hard work for all able-bodied persons who could
461 wield a hoe. Once sowing time was over, why cultivate further? The busy times were intermittent, therefore, and even those people who were most inclined to work had nothing to do but sit for a good half of the year, unless a war should bring them to their feet. It is obvious that such a state of affairs does not lead to the development of industrious habits and sustained application to work.

157 Immorality. I fear that I won't be contradicted if I say that the Black is immoral.... How could one expect these "child-peoples," who live such a carefree and easy life, to acquire habits of abnegation and self-restraint? When the evangelization of these primitive tribes was begun, it was not easy to establish among them such habits of morality as befit a Christian people (1).

1. We have good reason to believe that the Banyarwanda may be classified among the least corrupt. The taboos and traditions that prevail among them act as a check against profligacy.

[609] Mistrust. Centuries of struggle to the death among the various African tribes have engendered... a certain attitude toward foreigners which makes it very difficult for a well-intentioned person to lead them as far as he might wish on the road to progress....

To conclude. If the previous lines do not contain an exact description of the African in general (for there are no generalizations applicable at once to one and all), /65/ I hope nevertheless not to have been guilty of injustice toward the Blacks in describing them. If only they could make the most of their assets and persevere in conquering their shortcomings, then no doubt a fine future would be open to them.

The same author adds that if one could persuade them to develop a civilization peculiar to their race, instead of slavishly giving way to their natural aptitude for copying that of others, this would be a good contribution to the glory of humanity and a denial

784 The death of a family member makes the foodstuffs remaining
262 in the hut taboo, as well as the objects and tools which belonged
768 personally to the deceased. These objects may be purified with lustral water.

784 Even the widower or widow becomes taboo at the death of
768 the spouse and must undergo rites of purification.

Cohabitation between spouses becomes taboo upon the death
833 of a close relative, the king, or the queen mother. This remains in
784 effect for a period of time that varies with the importance of the
[764] deceased.

Marital relations are also forbidden in certain circumstances prescribed by usage or tradition, for example, at the time of a clandestine marriage proposal (1).

[584]

1. In order to force a girl's parents to give their daughter in marriage, an individual need only come into their hut under some pretext and covertly leave one of his bracelets there. After having taken leave of the household, he cries from afar, "Take good care of the object I left behind." The girl's parents believe that they must give her to him in order to avert misfortune.

[825] In the two preceding cases, the rules demand that the bull, billy goat, ram, and even the rooster be separated from the family herds and flocks!

784 All field work is forbidden at the time of funerals, as well
[461] as in the following cases: when lightning strikes the courtyard or hut, when a son is born, when a dog dies, when a hut burns, when it hails. On such occasions, work is forbidden only for one day.

Women and herders may not touch sorghum mush while it
[842] lies on the household spatula (umwuko). If she were to disobey this injunction, a woman would risk bearing only daughters. As for the

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tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

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April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

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without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.

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Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter.

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority.

• • • •

Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization.

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was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(a) *Caste society and social cohesion*

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

same caste. There are some short Tutsi and some tall Hutu. This makes no difference, for physical indices are not needed to distinguish Tutsi from Hutu. Recognition is based on their manner, their way of speaking, and their behaviour. Everybody agrees that the Tutsi and the Tutsikazi are born more intelligent—or, at least, cleverer—than the Hutu. This can be seen, it is said, because the Tutsi make the Hutu work for them without necessarily giving anything in return. There is general agreement that the Tutsi have a pronounced tendency to avarice and that old Tutsikazi are the worst misers in the world. Further, the Tutsi are most accomplished rhetoricians. The Hutu mutter and the Hutukazi lisp, and they are incapable of a good lie or of an elegant impromptu oration which seem second nature to Tutsi. Here, however, a contrast must be noted between Tutsi men and women: the boys are taught to speak well, the girls to be silent except to offer polite, evasive phrases.

It is believed that the Tutsi are physically and psychologically more delicate than the Hutu. They are not made, as the Hutu are, to work in the fields, to carry heavy burdens on their heads, to eat the solid, heavy food of the farmers. The Hutu pity the Tutsi when the latter are obliged by the government to do manual labour. True delicacy is shown by the *imfura*, literally the first born, more generally any person of very high birth, whose character and conduct constitute the model of nobility. The *imfura*, it is said, are so delicate that they take only liquid nourishment, especially milk and beer. All the Rundi know perfectly well that the Tutsi and their wives eat beef, cereals and vegetables. They are, however, so much taken by the myth of a liquid diet for superiors that even those who have been servants in the homes of Europeans—by definition, superiors—insist that the European diet is "liquid", that it does not give the strength needed for manual labour. Otherwise stated, persons of superior status do not work; their inferiors work for them. Elegance and dignity are joined together in everything that relates to the *imfura*. They wear beautiful clothing and much jewellery; they walk slowly and in front of others, or they are carried in a litter (although today the well-to-do prefer to travel by automobile); they speak softly, they never show their emotions; they are always discreet, they never discuss important matters in public. In fact, the dignity of well-born Tutsi and Tutsikazi seems sometimes to be primarily a frightening coldness and reserve. To respect the *imfura* and to fear them amounts to much the same thing.

It is necessary to stay in Burundi for a long time to see behind the stereotypes of the castes. In brief, it is assumed that the Tutsi

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
562 differences among the various castes and of much the same content.
564 Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads
[482] burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically
[165] the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonethe-
[842] less believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.
562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
593

554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556 for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her
593 wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his
[461 inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good